

Message Text

SECRET

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: RH, PINT

SUBJ: RHODESIA - CONVERSATION WITH HAROLD HAWKINS

1. HAROLD HAWKINS ASKED TO SEE ME THIS MORNING TO TALK ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS IN RHODESIA. HE STARTED OFF BY DESCRIBING THE AGREEMENT WHICH WAS AT THAT MOMENT BEING SIGNED IN SALISBURY. THE TEXT HE FURNISHED ME IS BEING TRANSMITTED BY CAPE TOWN 416). HAWKINS CONCLUDED HIS PRESENTATION BY SAYING THAT WHATEVER ONE MAY THINK OF THE ARRANGEMENT IT IS A SINCERE EFFORT TO MOVE TOWARD BLACK MAJORITY RULE IN A GRADUAL WAY WHICH IS NOT DISRUPTIVE OF WHITE CONFIDENCE.

2. HAWKINS NEXT BROUGHT UP THE QUESTION OF NKOMO'S PARTICIPATION. THIS WAS PROBABLY THE MAIN REASON FOR HIS VISIT. HE NOTED THAT SEVERAL EFFORTS HAD BEEN MADE SINCE MALTA THROUGH FLOWERS AND ROBINSON TO PERSUADE NKOMO TO JOIN THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AS THE FIFTH MEMBER. HAWKINS SAID THAT WHILE NKOMO COULD NOT BE OFFERED THE PARAMOUNT POSITION HE WANTS, THERE WOULD BE A GOOD POSITION FOR HIM IN THE FINAL SETTLEMENT. MOST OF ALL HIS RETURN WOULD OFFER THE OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE THE POLITICAL DEALS WHICH COULD CARRY HIM TO THE TOP. I ASKED HAWKINS WHAT SUCCESS THEY HAD WITH THESE APPROACHES. HE ADMITTED

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THEY HAD ENCOUNTERED ONLY "OBSTINANCE" UNLESS THEY WERE WILLING TO TURN OVER THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT ON A SILVER PLATTER WHICH SMITH OBVIOUSLY WAS NOT IN A POSITION TO DO. HAWKINS WENT ON TO SAY THEY WERE CONTINUINGG THEIR EFFORTS AND HE HOPED THAT NOT ONLY WOULD HMG LEND A HAND BUT USG WOULD ALSO USE ITS INFLUENCE. BY WAY OF COMMENT I REVIEWED THE CONTENT OF THE DEPARTMENTS

PRESS STATEMENT OF FEB 22, AND NOTED THE RISK OF ESCALATION IN THE FIGHTING, WITH THE INHERENT DANGERS OF GREATER SOVIET/CUBAN INVOLVEMENT, UNDER AN ARRANGEMENT THAT DID NOT INCLUDE OTHER NATIONALIST GROUPS. HAWKINS RESPONDED THAT PERHAPS SOME ADJUSTMENTS IN THE DIRECTION OF THE AAP MIGHT BE MADE, BUT HAVING LORD CARVER PLAY THE ROLE CONTEMPLATED IN THE AAP WAS OUT OF THE QUESTION. HE OBSERVED THAT SOME FORM OF INTERNATIONAL OBSERVATION OF THE ELECTIONS WAS HIGHLY DESIRABLE. HE DID NOT KNOW HOW THE TRANSITIONAL GOVT WOULD HANDLE THIS. INVITATIONS MIGHT BE SENT TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, SPECIFIC COUNTRIES OR INDIVIDUAL PERSONS. IN THIS CONTEXT HE ALSO REFERRED TO THE FACT THAT THE THREE BLACK LEADERS WERE IN FAVOR OF A REFERENDUM AMONG BLACK VOTERS ON THE PLAN IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE THE DEGREE INTERNAL SUPPORT HE PERSONALLY REGARDED THIS AS UNNECESSARY SINCE THROUGH THE GENERAL ELECTION BLACK VOTERS COULD -- BY STAYING AWAY OR DEPOSITING BLANK BALLOTS -- EXPRESS THEIR VIEW.

3. COMMENT: AS OUR MEETING BROKE UP, HAWKINS MADE THE PERSONAL COMMENT THAT WHAT HAD BEEN SIGNED IN SALISBURY THIS MORNING COULD VERY QUICKLY COME TO NAUGHT IF ANY NUMBER OF SITUATIONS DEVELOP. I READ THIS TO MEAN THAT HE RECOGNIZES THE FRAGILITY OF THE DEAL SO LONG AS THE PF AND FLP REMAIN UNITED AGAINST
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IT. THIS IS WHY SMITH IS SO ANXIOUS TO BRING NKOME INTO THE ARRANGEMENT. WITH NKOMO COLLABORATING, SMITH MUST CALCULATE THAT INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION WOULD BE ENHANCED AND THE RISKS OF CONTINUED OPPOSITION BY MUGABE AND OTHERS CORRESPONDINGLY REDUCED. THE SIGNING OF THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT WOULD SEEM TO LIMIT THE CHANCES OF NKOMO COMING INTO THE PLAN BECAUSE HE MUST DO SO NOW AS A CO-EQUAL. BUT GIVEN HIS POTENTIAL AS THE CAPSTONE TO THE SUCCESS OF THE PLAN, IT IS STILL CONCEIVABLE THAT IF HE WERE WILLING TO OPT IN, HE COULD, WITH SMITH'S ASSISTANCE, WORK OUT A DEAL THAT WOULD GIVE HIM A GOOD SHOT AT THE LEADERSHIP OF THE INDEPENDENCE GOVT.

4. DEPT PLEASE REPEAT THIS MESSAGE TO OTHER POSTS AS CONSIDERED NECESSARY.
BOWDLER

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NNN

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